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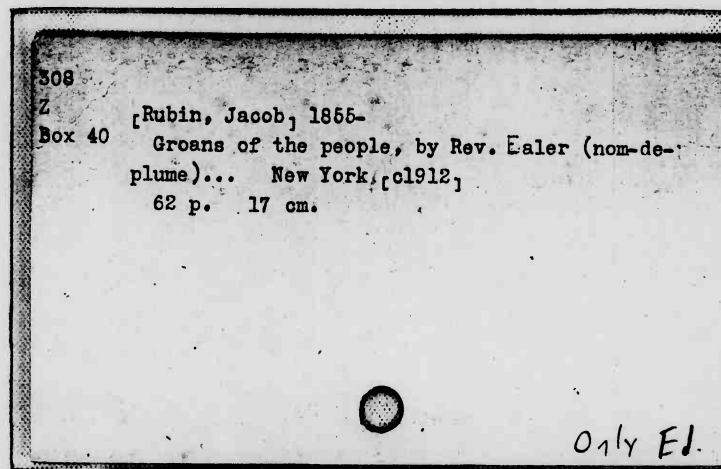
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GROANS

OF THE

PEOPLE

BY

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(*Nom-de-plume*)

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(*Nom-de-plume*)

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GROANS OF THE PEOPLE

HOW THE GREAT TROUBLE BEGAN

1. Long, long ago there lived together 1000 people—200 men, 200 women, and 600 children. They lived in caves, and they wore no clothes. They got their food from grain, whose seeds they planted in earth which they broke up with sharp stones.

2. By working during daylight (12 hours a day), the 400 men and women made just enough grain-food for themselves and the children (unable-to-workers). So $400 \times 12 = 4800$ work-hours a day were needed to keep all the people fed.

3. If 100 of the 400 food-makers became sick or injured, then the other 300 food-makers would not only have to take care of the 100 sick can't-workers, but they would also now have to work more than 12 hours a day, because food for 1000 people, needing 4800 work-hours, would now have to be made by only 300 food-makers instead of 400. If $300 \times (?) = 4800$, then $(?)$, the number of hours in the workday, would now have to be 16 instead of 12. So you can see that the more can't-workers there were, the longer were the work-hours of the workers. So it made life easier for the able-to-workers if they tried to prevent each other from becoming sick or injured. But if each one minded his own business, and did not care what happened to the others, then their life became

harder and harder, because there were more sick to be taken care of, and fewer workers to make food.

4. The less children there would be, the less mouths there would be to feed. So life was made easier for the workers if they had few children.

5. If one of the foodmakers did not want to work, the others *made* him work, if they had any sense. But if a sly foodmaker told the others that it was he who brought the rain that made the grain grow, and that if they made him make food he would in spite stop bringing the rain—if Sly said this and they believed him, they would excuse him from foodmaking as long as he would bring the rain. As the rain was *bound* to come some time, Sly would never have to make food again. And if after a while there were 100 pretended rain-makers and Spring-bringers and ghost-frighteners, a leisure class of won't-workers, then each foodmaker again had to work 16 hours a day instead of 12, as was shown in paragraph 3. So the more lazy rain-makers and ghost-frighteners there would be, to eat food which they did not help to make and which they did not deserve, the harder would life be for the foodmakers.

6. If one of the foodmakers were a very strong man, but did not want to work, he could tell the others that he would kill the first one that would try to make him work. They would let him alone, if they were afraid enough. And if in time there would be 100 such bullies, a leisure class of won't-workers, then each foodmaker would again have to work 16 hours a day instead of 12, as was shown

in paragraph 3. So the fewer lazy bullies there were, the easier was life for the foodmakers.

7. One day a clever fellow named Slick, who was both rain-maker and Spring-bringer and ghost-frightener, told the foodmakers that he had had a dream about Rain. Rain was the great God who brought them all their happiness and allowed them to live. If He was angry with them He could kill them all by not visiting the land any more; for then the grain could not grow. In the dream Rain told him (the ghost-frightener) that the foodmakers should give Him some land to keep, and that Slick *should take care of it for Him*, otherwise He would be angry with the foodmakers. These would probably believe the dream, and set aside a piece of land for Rain. They might also be fooled into giving a piece of land to the caretaker of Fire (so that He should not hurt them), and a piece of land to Winter (so that He should go away), and a piece of land to Sun (so that He should not forget to come around every day).

8. If the foodmakers altogether gave half of their land to the caretakers of the different Gods, then they could raise only half the grain that they could before, and so there would be food for only half of them and the can't-or-won't-workers. So the foodmakers would now have to work twice as long hours. But when we last left them they were already working 16 hours a day, and they could not very well work any more. Half of the people would therefore have to starve. So the less land the foodmakers had, the harder was life for them. And the more land-loving Gods they had, the harder

was life for them. It was shown before that the more caretakers of Gods they had, the harder was life for them.

9. At one of the seed-plantings one of the foodmakers named Smart had a great idea. Instead of breaking up the earth with one sharp stone, he took three such stones and tied them to a stick, and then made a handle to the middle of the stick, so that the whole thing was like a rough rake, and was thus the first tool or simple machine. With this hoe or plow of three sharp stones Smart could dig three furrows at a pull, instead of one furrow, as before. Smart could now prepare three times as much ground, and so raise three times as much grain, as the other foodmakers, while working only the same 12 hours as they did. So the three-stoned hoe was a labor-saving thing. Smart could now either work 12 hours a day and make three times as much food as he needed, or he could work 4 hours a day and make just enough food. So he could have as much food as he used to, and yet save 8 hours work a day. If all the foodmakers would use hoes, then they could all work only 4 hours a day. But if Smart told the other foodmakers that the God Grain had told him in a dream that nobody but he (Smart) should use such a hoe, and if the foodmakers believed him, they had to go on working 12 hours a day. So the more and the better the labor-saving things there were, the easier was life for the foodmakers; but if they did not use the labor-saving things for their own good, these might as well have not been made at all.

10. It might be said that though Smart would save 8 hours in furrowing, yet he would have to lose them in making the hoe and keeping it in repair. Well, I think that if Smart and the other foodmakers found that they saved no work-hours *at all* by making and using the hoes, they right away stopped making them; and I think that if they *did* go on making hoes, that was the best proof that the hoes *did* save time and work, and *were* labor-saving!!

11. If at this time, when the foodmakers would be working only 4 hours a day, the ghost-frighteners would begin to take away still more land, in the way that was shown in paragraph 8, then the foodmakers would again have to work 12 or 16 hours a day, and might not have enough food even then, and if they had little or no land left, many or all of them would be "out of work." Now suppose the ghost-frighteners would say to the starving foodmakers, "Give us one ear of corn out of every five that you grow, and we shall then be so kind as to 'make' work and help you by letting you raise grain on *our* land." The foodmakers would be afraid, on account of their hunger, to say that it was really *their* land out of which they had been fooled, and that it was their *hunger* which "made" work, and so they would gladly agree to give up the one corn out of five, because that would be easier for them than not to have enough land. Of course, they would now have to work harder than before, in order to raise five corns for every four that they used to raise before. The foodmakers would now begin to pay

to the ghost-frighteners the Rent of one corn out of five, for the use of the land. And the more land would be taken away from the foodmakers, the more would they need it, so the more Rent would they be willing to pay for the use of it.

12. If some day the bullies would take away the hoes from the foodmakers, these would again be in a wretched state. But suppose the bullies would say to the foodmakers, "Give us one ear of corn out of every five that you grow, and we shall then be so kind as to 'make' work and help you by letting you use *our* hoes." The foodmakers would be afraid, on account of their hunger, to say that it was really *their* hoes out of which they had been fooled and that it was their *hunger* which "made" work, and they would again gladly agree to give the one corn out of five, because that would be easier for them than not to have the labor-saving hoes. So the foodmakers would begin to give up the Rent of one corn out of five to the bullies, for the use of the labor-saving things. And the more labor-saving things would be taken away from the foodmakers, the more would they need them, and the more Rent would they be willing to pay for using them.

13. After a while the ghost-frighteners and the bullies would become greedy, and would demand two corns out of five as Rent; and as the Rent went up the foodmakers, keeping for themselves less and less of what they made, would have to work longer and longer hours, until they would again be working 12 or 16 hours a day.

14. Suppose some day a foodmaker found

something shiny in the earth and hung it around his neck. Nothing like it was ever seen before, so everyone would be jealous of him. If the foodmakers were not working long hours, and had enough to eat, it would do no harm if they would spend their time trying to find shiny things. But if they were working long hours, and making only just enough food to keep alive, every hour they would spend looking for shinies would be an hour taken away from foodmaking, and would mean so much less food than was needed for them all. Now the foodmakers would not need the shinies to keep alive; these were *luxuries*, and not *necessities* like food. So the foodmakers *should* not, and *could* not, and *did* not, spend time in looking for, or making, luxuries when they did not have enough of the necessities of life.

15. But suppose the ghost-frighteners and the bullies said to the foodmakers, "We want you to bring half of our Rent in shinies and half in grain, instead of all in grain, and if you do not obey we will neither let you have land on which to raise grain nor hoes with which to furrow." Half of the workers would now *have* to look for shinies, and the other half would have to work twice as long in making food as before, because no matter what one half was doing, there was still the same number of people to feed as before, and one man who makes food for two men has to work twice as long as both men working together. So the more luxuries or not-necessities the foodmakers would be made to make for the can't-or-won't workers, the harder would life be for the foodmakers.

16. Suppose by this time the people had begun to be jealous of each other. Suppose each foodmaker was saying, "I make more food in one day than the others make, yet I do not get any more to eat than they." Suppose each shiny-seeker was saying, "I find more shinies in one day than do the others, yet I do not get any more shinies." Suppose each ghost-frightener was saying, "I frighten more ghosts and spirits and Devils away in one night than do the other frighteners, yet they get as many corns-out-of-five and shinies as I do." Suppose each bully was saying, "I am stronger than my brothers, yet I do not get more corns-out-of-five and shinies than they get." Then the foodmakers would stop putting, each one, the food that he made into a common heap, and then dividing it equally among all (first taking out the Rent-food for the frighteners and bullies). The shiny-seekers would stop putting, each one, the shinies that he found into a common heap, and then dividing it equally among all (first taking out the Rent-shinies for the frighteners and bullies). The Communism-life of the people would be ended, and each one would begin to get or make things for himself only, and not for himself as part of the people. So a foodmaker would keep some of the made-by-him food for himself, and would have to give some as half-Rent to a frightener, some as half-Rent to a bully, and some to a shiny-seeker in exchange for shinies with which to pay half the Rent. And a shinyseeker would divide the found-by-him shinies between himself, a bully, a frightener, and a foodmaker in exchange for food.

17. If the frighteners and bullies would order that their Rent should be brought to them only in shinies, and not in food, then the shinies would become the Money of the people, with which they could exchange or buy and sell things, such as exchanging food for permission to use land or labor-saving things (Rent), or buying this permission (Rent) with food. Now if a foodmaker would have bad luck some time and would not have enough food for himself and for Rent, instead of starving he could borrow some shinies (money) from someone who had many of them (a bully or frightener); and he could promise to give (pay) them back in say a year, together with some extra shinies as Rent for the use of the borrowed shinies. Whenever a foodmaker would have to pay this Interest (Rent for the use of money), life would be so much the harder for him, because he would have to work more than if he did not have to pay Rent for use of money.

18. It might take much time for a foodmaker to go to a shinyseeker, and for a shinyseeker to go to a foodmaker, to exchange food for shinies and shinies for food. If one of the people could spend all his time going between the foodmakers and the shinyseekers and exchanging food for shinies and shinies for food, much time could be saved, which would mean more shinies and more food for all, because the time lost by one man taken away from foodmaking would be so much less than the time saved by many foodmakers and shinyseekers left free to go on with their work. But if there would be more and more of these go-be-

tweens or middlemen or merchants, that would mean more and more men taken away from food-making and shinyseeking, which would mean more and more work for the remaining foodmakers in order to make as much food as before, with fewer men making it. So, after there were just enough of them, the more middlemen there would be, the harder would life be for the foodmakers and the have-to-be-shinyseekers.

19. After a while the foodmakers and shinyseekers would *never* exchange directly, like in the old times, but they would always exchange through the middlemen, because that would now be the custom. Now the middleman would not make food, neither would he seek shinies, yet he would have to eat and pay Rent just the same as other men. So exchanging would be done like this: Middleman would go to Foodmaker and give him say 8 shinies for 8 ears of corn; Middleman would then go to Shinyseeker and give him only 7 ears of corn for 8 shinies. Middleman would have to have that one ear of corn in order to have something to eat; he did not make that ear; it would be only his Profit, the difference between what he got or bought for 8 shinies, and what he gave or sold for 8 shinies. Middleman might be greedy, and he might begin to give Foodmaker 7 shinies instead of 8, for 8 ears of corn; and then he might begin giving Foodmaker 6 shinies for 8 corns, and Shinyseeker 6 corns for 8 shinies, and so on. And if Middleman had plenty of people between whom to go (customers), and if Foodmaker needed the shinies, and Shinyseeker needed the food, more badly than Mid-

dleman needed his Profit, then Middleman would come to have as much corn and shinies as the frighteners and bullies. And as long as the people could not trade with each other directly, either because the frighteners and bullies would not allow it, or because the people lived too far away from each other, or for any other reason—just so long the Middlemen would make their Profit, so that the foodmakers would get less shinies for their corn than they used to get when there were no middlemen, and the shinyseekers would get less corn for their shinies than they used to get. So the more Profit the Middlemen would make, the harder would life be for the other people.

20. It might happen that the Middlemen would come to collect the Rent for the bullies and frighteners. If the Middlemen were "smart," they might try to make Profit out of the Rent, that is, they might try to give the bullies and frighteners less shinies than they collected from the people. As soon as the bullies and frighteners would see that they were getting less shinies than before, they would simply make the people work harder. And then would begin the pretty sight, which can still be seen everywhere, of the receivers of Rent and Interest and Profit trying to fool each other, but *all* of them trying to grind out as much corn and shinies from the people as they could.

21. Whenever life became too miserable, the people might try to fix things by making the can't-workers, such as children and the sick, work; but that would not help, because no matter how many more people were set to work, and how much more

food was made, "you could not change human nature," and the receivers of Rent, Interest, and Profit, were *bound* to squeeze more and more until they got everything.

22. All this time there would be very many corns and shinies being stored in the caves of the receivers of Rent, Interest, and Profit, because these could not possibly use up all that they got. So if the people ever became angry and would not work like horses any more (went on strike), the Rent-Interest-Profit receivers could simply laugh and live on the food that they had stored up, while the workers would have to go back to work as soon as they felt the bitter pangs of hunger. Also, if ever the Rent-Interest-Profit receivers would chase the people off the land or would take their hoes away or would stop going-between, the people would have to starve, while the receivers could live on the stored up food until it was eaten up, either by themselves or *by the people in desperation seizing it*. And whenever some of the people would be allowed to work, and some not allowed, the out-of-workers, driven by hunger, would *beg* for work and would agree to give up more Rent and Interest and Profit than those who were working, so that Wages, (that part of the corn which is left after Rent, Interest, and Profit have been taken out) would become less and less.

WHY THE TROUBLE GREW

All this happened long, long ago, and little by little this simple life turned into the terribly mixed-up life of to-day. Foodmaking, shinyseeking, between-going, and ghost-frightening and bullying grew into thousands of different kinds of *doing*, connected with grain, meat, fish, milk, vegetable, fruit, liquor, wool, silk, linen, fur, wigwam, tent, hut, cabin, house, mansion, palace, bead, bracelet, jewel, rug, statue, monument, sled, canoe, raft, ship, railroad, herd, forest, mine, tool, machine, factory, silver and gold, money, banknote, check, priest, lawyer, judge, chief, prince, king, doctor, soldier, slave, workman, clerk, mechanic, merchant, foreman, boss, banker. But the kernel of all this hurly-burly is the same life that had been so simple long ago, and THE THINGS THAT CAUSED TROUBLE THEN CAUSE TROUBLE NOW; NAY, PROFIT-RENT-INTEREST AND HIS CHILD LUXURY-FOR-THE-FEW CAUSE A MILLION TIMES MORE TROUBLE NOW, BECAUSE THEY HAVE A MILLION TIMES MORE MATERIAL ON WHICH TO WORK!

Why did this trouble grow and grow until now it chokes almost all the people? It grew because people "minded their own business"; because everyone did what he thought was best for himself, without thinking that it might be the worst for someone else; because no one saw that every sick or injured person, every too large family, every lazy person, every cheat, every ruffian, every wasted brain, every penny of the monstrous Profit, Rent,

and Interest, every luxury when there are not enough necessities, every child-worker, every owner of large amounts of the necessities of life—all these, sooner or later, harm you and me and all of us!

You will now be shown how, by beginning to mind the other fellow's business as much as your own, you will be able to stop all this trouble forever.

First of all you should remember these
Forgotten First Truths of Nature, or
Natural Rights.

When the world began it was true that

1. Every living thing struggled against death, or tried to live as long as possible.

1a. Therefore, it was against nature, or unnatural, for a living thing to shorten its own life.

1b. Therefore it was natural for a living thing to defend its life.

1c. Therefore it was natural to avoid unhealthful (dangerous to life) surroundings.

1c1. Exposure to enough cold or wind or wet or heat was dangerous to life.

1c1a. Therefore it was natural for a living thing to seek shelter.

1c1b. Therefore it was unnatural to prevent a living thing from getting shelter.

1c1c. Therefore it was unnatural to compel a living thing to remain in unhealthful surroundings.

2. Every living thing needed rest every now and then.

2a. Therefore it was unnatural to not want or not get enough rest.

2b. Therefore it was unnatural to prevent a living thing from getting rest.

3. The first living thing of its kind did natural things, and did as it pleased, except when it was chased by some stronger living thing of another kind. When several living things of the same kind were together, it would often happen that they would want to do the same natural thing (as eating some piece of food) at the same time, so that each would try to prevent the other, so that they would fight among each other until only one would be left alive. But there never was any kind of living thing of which only one of its kind was left, through the rest killing each other in fights. It is just the other way; most kinds of living things live together, in communities. But they could not live together unless there was little or no fighting between them; and for this state of things each would have to leave alone, or respect, the first truths of nature or natural rights of others.

3a. Therefore it was natural for a living thing to leave alone, or respect, the natural rights of the others of its kind.

CO-OPERATION (working together) IS JUST AS NATURAL AS COMPETITION (fighting each other).

You should also remember the
Fair Play of Nature.

A living thing brings forth several young at the same time under the same conditions. Therefore it is natural that each of the young begins with the same opportunities (chances for life and growth). When the young are not brought forth

under the same conditions, they and their offspring and their offspring's offspring change little by little until they become quite a different kind of living thing from what their kind used to be, and the new kind get along as easily in the new conditions as their kind used to get along in the old conditions. Therefore EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IS A NATURAL RIGHT.

A Living Thing's

Natural Rights	Crimes
in the presence of other living things of the same kind.	
Defend one's life.	Kill (except in defense of one's life)
Avoid unhealthful surroundings	Compel to stay in unhealthful surroundings
Seek shelter	
Have enough food	Keep from shelter
	Keep from food
Have enough rest or sleep	Keep from rest or sleep
Have equal opportunities	Keep from equal opportunities

HOW TO STOP THE TROUBLE

Do you know that there are millions of people who have lost, or have been robbed, of their natural rights? Your own eyes and ears are not enough; if you had time to read the thousands of newspapers and books that are printed every day all over the world, you would begin to learn what terrible things are happening all the time. Mil-

lions of people have not enough food; they are often so weak that they scarcely struggle against death; they do not care whether they live or not; they often seek death and dangerous surroundings; they suffer from cold and wet; they do not have enough rest or sleep; they do not have the same chances as others to play, learn, grow, be healthy, and do what they like (when it does not hurt others). They have been robbed of their natural rights.

Have we not shown you that all their troubles harm YOU, unless you are one of those who live on others' troubles? Then do you want to find who is the robber that steals these natural rights, and how he can be stopped forever?

The robber is Rent-Profit-Interest; and you will see that he steals now in really the same way as he stole in the days of long ago.

Suppose you work for me. I am your boss. I pay some one 50c. for the material that you use, and I pay you \$2.00 for making that material into some article. So the article costs me \$2.50. I sell it for \$4.50. \$4.50 — \$2.50 leaves \$2.00, which is my "profit." This "profit" is made up of the rent which I charged you for using my machine, and of the profit that I made by selling the article for more than what it cost me. I gave you \$2.50 for making the article, but if you wanted to buy it you would have to pay say \$6.50 for it! This is how the trick is done: The article costs me \$2.50; I sell it to a wholesaler for \$4.50, making \$2.00 profit; the wholesaler sells it to a retailer for \$5.50, making \$1.00 profit; and the retailer sells it to you for \$6.50, making \$1.00 profit. All these profits are

taken from *you*; without them you could get that article for \$2.50 or a little more.

Why am I a boss? In order to live on my "profits." So the harder I can make you work, the longer the hours I can make you work, the worse and therefore the cheaper the material that I can use before being found out, the more men that I can show you out of a job and willing to take your job at smaller wages, the more I can make you satisfied with little food and little rest and little sleep and little pleasure and little learning, the more children I can persuade you to support, the more afraid I can make you with soldiers and policemen and judges and big lawbooks, the more I can fool you by saying "I am your friend," "the more profit you can make for me, the better it is for you," "it is not hungry stomachs that make a demand for food, but it is I, your boss, who kindly 'makes,' invents, work for you"; the more mixed-up I can make you by hollering "our flag" and "our country" and "Three cheers for Teddy" whenever you seem to be thinking too much about your troubles—the more I can do these things the less "fresh" will you be, the less wages will you demand, the less will you kick at high prices (of everything except labor), and so the more PROFIT will I make out of you.

What is the remedy for this? TO WORK FOR A BOSS WHO DOES NOT WANT TO GET PROFIT OR MACHINE-RENT OUT OF YOU.

Where can you find such a boss? Nowhere. But you can *make* such a boss, if you and the rest of

the people begin to work for yourselves and keep the profit for yourselves, so that you and the rest of the people will be the boss. Will you then make yourself kill yourself working; will you refuse yourself a job; will you give yourself as low wages as possible; will you give yourself as little food, rest, sleep, pleasure, and learning as possible? I DON'T THINK SO.

Suppose you live on my land. I am your landlord. You pay me \$3.00 a week rent. I pay only \$1.00 a week for taxes and repairs. The remaining \$2.00 is my profit on your rent, and goes into my pocket to do with as I like. Why should not those two dollars go into *your* pocket?

Why am I a landlord? In order to make a living out of my rents. Now the smaller the rooms that I build, the more the families that I can put on one floor,—and so the more the rents that I can collect. The less often I fix the rooms, and the fewer the furnishings that I put into them, the less will be my expenses out of any particular rent, and so the more “profitable” will it be for me to be a landlord.

What is the remedy for this? TO LIVE IN A HOUSE WHOSE LANDLORD DOES NOT WANT TO GET RENT OUT OF YOU.

Where can you find such a landlord? Nowhere. But you can *make* such a landlord, if you and the rest of the people begin to build for yourselves and keep the rent for yourselves, so that you and the rest of the people will be the landlord. Will you then build yourselves as small and as dark rooms

as possible? Will you make your rent as high as possible? I DON'T THINK SO.

I am a merchant, and you are my customer. You pay me \$1.00 for an article which cost me 80c. Why should not those 20c. stay in your pocket?

Why am I a merchant? In order to make as good a living as possible out of my profits. And the more I can charge you for an article, the longer I can make you think that poor material is good material, the less I can pay for the article to the boss in whose shop the article was made (the boss will try to “get square” by paying his workmen less)—the more profit will I make.

What is the remedy for this? TO BUY FROM A STORE-KEEPER WHO DOES NOT WANT TO MAKE PROFIT OUT OF YOU.

Where can you find such a merchant? Nowhere. But you can *make* such a merchant, if you and the rest of the people begin to buy from yourselves and keep the profits for yourselves, so that you and the rest of the people will be the merchant. Will you then try to cheat yourself? Will you charge yourself as much as possible? I DON'T THINK SO.

You will now see how you and the rest of the people can become your own boss and your own merchant and your own landlord.

Suppose a New Political Party is formed, which says: *We want to have you and us and all the rest of the people own and “run” the grain and fruit business and the farm-land; the cloth business; the coal, iron, and copper business and the mines; the meat business and the cattle-land*

and the herds; the lumber business and the forests; the real-estate business and the business land; the communication and transportation business and the railroads, ships, post-offices, telephones, and telegraphs; the stores and the merchant business. If you own and run all these things, then everyone will be a shareholder or partner in all business (the number of your shares depending upon the ability that you are putting into the world's work), so that the rent that you pay as a tenant will come back to you as a shareholder or partner in the people-landlord, and the profit that you pay as a customer will come back to you as a shareholder in the people-merchant, and the profit-rent that is taken from you as a workman or clerk will come back to you as a shareholder in the people-boss, so that the getting of the NECESSITIES of life will be as easy for THE MILLIONS OF YOU PEOPLE who have bosses as it is for the comparatively few thousands of the "big" partners-shareholders of to-day who do not a stroke of work, and yet receive billions of dollars of interest, rent, and profit from companies, banks, corporations, and so on.

If you elect enough New Party candidates as governors, mayors, legislators, judges, and especially Congressmen, so that there will be a New Party majority in Congress, then this is what will happen:

Congress will pass a law ordering the Chicago Meat Company to sell its business to the New Government (just as the city can to-day make me sell my land to it, in order to make room for a new street or a bridge). Congress will then appoint in-

spectors to find how much the business is worth, and what parts of it were honestly gotten, and what parts were dishonestly gotten (just as the city to-day appoints appraisers to find the real owner and the price of the land which it is going to take away from me for the new bridge). If the inspectors report that the meat business is worth \$100,000,000 "on paper," but that it is really worth \$40,000,000, and that \$20,000,000 of it was dishonestly gotten, (as by bribing officials or by fooling people with mixed-up legal papers)—then Congress will give \$20,000,000 to the Chicago Meat Co. for the honest part of its business, and then forever after the whole business will be owned by all the people. If the company had been making ten per cent. profit on \$100,000,000 every year, or \$10,000,000 every year, then the people, by paying this profit to themselves, in two years would get back the \$20,000,000 which they gave to the company, and EVER AFTER THAT THE PEOPLE WOULD BE SAVING FOR THEMSELVES TEN MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR (which they used to give up for the meat company's profit). (The shareholders or partners of the old company would little by little spend or lose the money which they had received, and they would never be able to get a penny more except by working for it.)

After the company is bought up by the people, they or Congress or those who work in the meat business will elect a chief manager of the People's meat business, the People's Nation-Wide Meat Company. All those who had been doing real and necessary and honest work will stay right at the

same jobs, but they will work for the people instead of for a boss. The profits of the company will not go into the pockets of half-a-dozen bosses (with a little bit for a lot of little shareholders), but will go into the New Government Treasury, that is, the people's treasury. No one will be afraid of "getting the sack" on account of business "being slow"; if at such times the men cannot be put at other work, then their hours of labor **WILL BE SHORTENED**, because the other workers will not want to support have-to-be-idle men. Instead of having one man work 10 hours a day, and another man be out of work, it is much more fair to have both work 5 hours a day.

Congress will in the same way buy up all the other businesses (paying for them on the installment plan if necessary), so that the following will be the state of affairs:

Every business, profession, activity (call them what you will), will be owned and run by the New Government, the People. Everybody will be a People's employee. The officials of the People-Government will be simply managers elected by the people to run the different kinds of business-work-activity which are needed by the people. The duties of the manager will be to see that only honest work is turned out, and that the work is as easy and pleasant as the people's needs permit. If a manager does not manage, then he will be called back by the people, or by those whose work he manages, to his last job. All persons will begin life (after finishing their education) as apprentices or learners. The better the working or the think-

ing that they can do, the sooner will they be promoted to more difficult and so more interesting work and higher wages, that is, the more shares will they get in the People's National Business Company; so that people will have one or two or three shares, and so on, according to their usefulness to the people, but **NO ONE WILL BE ABLE TO GET HUNDREDS OR THOUSANDS OF SHARES**, unless he lives a hundred times as long as Methuselah. Any one who does not do good work, in the opinion of his fellow-workers, will be put back into a lower job. Wages, prices, and work-hours will be fixed, not by what children or men with large families or men out of a job want to work for (which things are a villain-scoundrel's blood-thirsty **ARTIFICIAL** supply and demand), but by an **HONEST SUPPLY and DEMAND**; fair play will rule, for Congress will make the work-hours in one work-place twice as long as the hours in a place where the work is only one-half as pleasant, and so on, so that wherever the work is unpleasant or long it will be balanced by higher wages than in some other place, and the fewer the people that can do a certain kind of work or thinking or managing, the higher the wages paid to them. Inventors (idea-makers) will be given every possible chance to work out their ideas, but their inventions will not be used to get profit-rent-interest. All who to-day "make money" up to the millions of dollars by "thrift," "foresight," "industry," "superior brains," **WILL BE GIVEN THE SAME CHANCE TO "MAKE MONEY," BUT THEY WILL HAVE TO "MAKE MONEY"**

BY "THRIFT" AND "SUPERIOR BRAINS" ALONE, WITHOUT THE HELP OF RENT, INTEREST, OR PROFIT!!! Astor will be allowed to get rich out of his brains, and not out of his business-land; Rockefeller will be allowed to get rich out of his brains, and not out of his oil-business; Morgan will be allowed to get rich out of his brains, and not out of his banks! The merchant will be allowed to get rich out of his brains, not out of his profits; and the landlord will be allowed to get rich out of his brains, not out of his rents! They will be welcome to all the money they can make out of their brains and industry *alone*. The more labor-saving machines will be invented (thus throwing men out of work under the old system), the shorter will the hours of labor be made, thus putting the excess men back at work, so that no one can possibly be out of a job. The lazy people, such as many of the present receivers of rent-interest-profit, will starve off instead of rolling around in automobiles. No one will need money for a private business, so no Interest will be possible. Billions of dollars of Rent and Profit will flow, not into the pockets of a comparatively small number of people, but into the People's Treasury. As the People-Government will exist (and as present governments pretend to exist) not to "make money," but to protect our lives, health, etc., all these *billions of dollars*, instead of being spent by a small number of people for champagne and diamonds and monkey-dinners and silly old paintings and useless old books, WILL GO BACK INTO OUR POCKETS in the form of lower taxes and

or higher wages and or lower prices. We, the people, shall be at last living for ourselves and getting everything at cost!

Look at the picture a little more closely:

Everything will cost less, because when you buy something you will pay for the thing alone, and not for the rent of the place where it was made, and for the profit of the raw-goods dealer, and for the profit of the manufacturer, and for the profit of the wholesaler, and for the profit of the carrier, and for the profit of the retailer, and for the advertising, and for the footman who opens the door of the store, and for the beautiful windows and the fine stationery.

Short work-hours. You will not have to make luxuries for the few, or to do useless work; and the millions of men who are now doing useless work, such as advertising and opening carriage-doors, will be set to useful work, and so will reduce the hours of labor all around.

Freedom. All will work for the People-Government, so no one will depend for his job upon some one else, so no one's bread will be at anyone else's mercy, so NO ONE WILL BE AFRAID TO STAND UP AND SAY WHATEVER HE THINKS (if it is true) OF ANYBODY OR ANYTHING ELSE.

Only ability will be rewarded. You will have to go into your own pocket if you want to have some one paid for his good looks or his good clothes or his "personality."

A uniform standard of wages, so that equal ability will get equal wages. To-day it so often hap-

pens that a person gets \$1 for doing far more important work than that for which someone else gets \$10, just because thousands of different employers have thousands of different standards of wages and treatment and work-hours.

No child labor, as each father, not having to give up rent and profit, will have enough and to spare for his whole family.

Efficiency, and Conservation of body (not only of forests!). Low prices, high wages, short hours, and no deadly strain of high-speed work,—so a healthy and happy body,—so no overpowering necessity to relieve the strain through dissipation of various kinds,—so almost no drink or immorality, and no low-wage cause for the nameless life of the vice-dens,—so small need for hospitals and asylums.

Efficiency, and Conservation of brain (not only of forests!). No sick children of sick parents, brought up amid the trampling of those who fight with each other in the mad rush to "make a living," and learning how to do the same thing. No child-labor, so all children educated as long as they are able to learn.

No slave-driving or "speeding up" of workers. Whether the men work twelve hours or four hours a day, the manager will get the same wages from the People-Government, so, as he can't make a cent by slave-driving, he will have little reason to "speed up," unless the rest of the people will say that his industry is too lazy.

Little or no swindling. At present the more sand a grocer can put in his sugar without being

found out, the more profit will he make. If the grocer works for the People-Government, he will get the same wages whether he puts sand in his sugar or not; and the chances are few that he will cheat if he cannot gain a penny by cheating; moreover, he will not be able to get any sand for such a purpose.

Little or no stealing. Every person will have a chance to get all the food, clothing, and shelter that he needs, by working say four hours a day.

Little, or no, drunkenness. At present, the more liquor a saloon-keeper sells, the more profit he makes. If the saloon-keeper works for the People-Government (though it is unlikely that saloons will exist), he will get the same wages whether he sells 1 glass or 10 glasses. So it is unreasonable to think that he will let a man get drunk if he does not gain a penny by so doing.

Little sickness. No people killing themselves by working 12 or more hours a day; no one working in unhealthful places because the rent of such places costs the boss less than would a healthful place; no one using dangerous materials because they are cheaper than safe materials; no one eating adulterated food, for the foodmakers will get the same wages whether they make pure food or not.

Few injuries and accidents, for there will be no bosses refusing to use safety devices because they "are expensive, while workmen are cheap," and there will be no tired men nodding at their work.

No misery on account of no work, no rest, low pleasure, sickness, injury.

No marrying for reasons of money.

No fighting, no crimes or terrible wars, for reasons of money.

Much, much fewer mistakes of all kinds, for when there is no child labor everyone who can learn will have a chance to learn so much about life that he will make few mistakes in living.

You see, most of the troubles of this world come about because "there is money in it" if you swindle, cheat, or lie; or because it is "natural" for the strong to oppress the weak, so the man who is quite sure of his job will oppress the man who is not so sure of his job; or because the man who has started with many opportunities will be stronger, and so will be able to oppress, the one who has started with few opportunities. The remedy is, DON'T GIVE PEOPLE THE CHANCE TO "MAKE MONEY" OUT OF EACH OTHER; DON'T LET ANYONE BE MORE SURE OF HIS BREAD THAN ANYONE ELSE; DON'T LET ANYONE BE GIVEN MORE OPPORTUNITIES THAN SOMEONE ELSE. And the only way to do these things is to let the People-Government be the only manufacturer and landlord and merchant and carrier, so that no one will be at the mercy of some one else; so that all the profits and the rents will go to one great trust of which you and I and all of us will be shareholders, since we shall elect and recall its managers, and since its profits and rents will come into our pockets in the form of high wages and low prices.

I think you have by this time agreed to support the New Party which wants to do these things;

but this New Party is not as new as you might think; it has existed for some tens of years in this country and in Europe, it has say 12,000,000 voters, and it is also called the Socialist Party.

IN SELF-DEFENCE

Now you know that bad men, when their lives are in danger, will use all possible weapons to attack those who want to bring them to justice. In the same way, the receivers of rent-interest-profit, knowing that their "easy money" will stop as soon as the people wake up, use all possible weapons to attack those who preach the People-Government-Business Company, or Socialism.

It is impossible in this little pamphlet to answer the millions of malicious or short-sighted "arguments" used against Socialism; there is room to answer only some of the most over-worked ones.

Firstly, though rent-interest-profit began by force and cheating, that does not mean that all those who to-day are getting rent-profit-interest are deliberate cheats or bullies. In our present crazy system of society people can do only one of two things—have profit-rent-interest dug out of them, or dig it out from others. Now the digging is far more pleasant than the being dug, so it is natural that many wide-awake minds, who under a better system would use their brains for all kinds of useful (to society) purposes, learn much more quickly than others to use their brains for themselves at the expense of other people.

Secondly, the term "class struggle" (which is misused by many Socialists) does not mean that

there is only one good and suffering class, the workmen. Other people besides workmen have troubles. It means that there are two classes, (1) those who get no interest-rent-profit at all, or who give up more of it than they get, and (2) those who get or take more of it than they give up. In the first class are workmen, mechanics, clerks, truckmen, small storekeepers, small bosses, and small professional men (lawyers, doctors, teachers, engineers, etc.), even if they own little bits of ground or little houses, or have little savings-bank accounts. In the second class are the large employers in all the "great" industries (the "captains of skindustry"), the trust and corporation magnates, the "great" land and mine owners, and the bankers. Many people fluctuate between the grinding and the ground class.

Thirdly, the fact that a person does not yet admit the beauty of the People-Government-Industry idea, does not mean that he is wicked. Simply his mind works slowly, or he has not had the right kind of experiences to open his eyes, or his brain is too tired or lazy to understand, or the idea has not been explained to him in the right way (which is very often the case), or he has believed some anti-Socialist lie. This is a tremendously mixed-up world; it is almost impossible to get a clear picture of how things could be straightened out, so it has been very hard to understand the straightening-out theory of Socialism. Most Socialists do not understand the theory well; but all the more honor to them for instinctively feeling that the theory is correct.

Fourthly, the theory of Socialism, as we have shown, is that the necessities of life should not be used to both supply the people's needs and also to make rent-profit-interest for the stealers, finders, inheritors, or inventors of these necessities, but that they should be used ONLY to supply the people's needs; that is, the purpose of bread is, *to be eaten*, and *not to make profit* by being bought and sold; bread can be made and eaten without Profit coming in between; the baker doesn't sell himself bread for his breakfast. If some one wants of HIS OWN FREE WILL to pay rent-profit-interest for something without which he will not die or starve or freeze, such as a painting, he is welcome to pay up; but he should not be COMPELLED to pay rent-profit-interest for something, such as bread or coal, without which he must starve or freeze. And the only way to bring about such a state of affairs, is to form the People-Government-Industry, or what the Socialists call the Co-operative (Working-to-Help-Each-Other) Commonwealth(nation).

Now to answer some of the anti-Socialist "gags":

"Socialism will throw people out of work"—The merchant or manufacturer who has "built up" a business not only through rent-interest-profit but also through organizing ability, will surely do a manager's or assistant-manager's work under the People-Government. Perhaps his wages will be less than his present profits; but he will not "need" as much money as he needs now. He will not have to "provide" for his children, because they will be sure of the same chances in life as anyone else, and

everyone will be sure of a job if he is willing to work (which you know is not the case now); he will not have to "provide" for his old age, because everyone, being an employee of the People's National Business, will be retired on a pension at the proper age; he will not have to carry heavy insurance, for his wife and children will be provided for in the People's National Insurance Fund (not to mention the fact that, when everyone has short hours, high wages, and safe work, few men will die before their children have finished their complete education and have entered the apprentice's ranks in some kind of work). There will be no landlords, of course, but their "call" to buildings and real-estate will lead them to useful work in the Building Department of the People-Government. Inventors of ideas, whether mechanical, musical, artistic, or literary, who can make life easier or happier for the people, will have exceptional wages and will have the resources of the country at their command, to use their powers to the utmost; thus real ability will be rewarded, not the fake ability of to-day which consists in gouging money out of the people. Storekeepers will be stock clerks of the People-Government-Industry. Doctors will have less work curing or cutting up people *after* they have become sick, but they will have more work watching out that people do not become sick; they will not have to worry about patient's bills, for they will work for the People and will be paid according to their real ability and not "business" ability. Lawyers will become merely referees or umpires to settle whatever quarrels peo-

ple get into. If people quarrel little, lawyers will become investigators and statisticians in the employ of the People. As there will be no business "competition," there will be no agents or advertising men, but they can become traveling inspectors and clerks in the employ of the People. Much useless work, such as that of lackeys, rich men's chauffeurs, peddlers, and three grocers in one block, will be done away with, and the millions of people who work at making luxuries for the few will be allowed to cease from such work, so there **WILL BE MUCH LESS WORK THAN THERE IS NOW**, and as everyone will be offered a job, **EVERYONE WILL HAVE SHORTER HOURS OF WORK**. When Socialism arrives, the more people are thrown out of work, the **MORE WILL WORK-HOURS BE SHORTENED** by setting the thrown-out-of-work people at all kinds of other jobs. Work-hours will not be shortened as much as they might be, because there will be no child-or youth-workers, and their places will have to be taken by grown-ups. And now, just to tease you, I ask, "Why do you not criticize Republicanism or Democraticism because under them, since this country began, people are constantly being thrown out of work? And why do you not kick against the law which gives burglars ten years in prison, because the law is liable to drive burglars out of work? You see how cruelly prejudiced you are in arguing against Socialism." *No man was ever out of a job; it is only under Socialism that such things will begin.* Eh?

"Socialism is Communism"—In Communism, as

I understand it, people would put what they made into a common heap, and then divide it equally among themselves. Now what on earth has this to do with Socialism, under which each person will be paid according to the REAL value of his work to the people? Do you think that under Socialism an industry-manager or a skillful worker will agree to get the same wage as a person who was born with a sick brain and can do only very simple work?

"Socialism is Anarchy"—There are two kinds of anarchists. The philosophical anarchist thinks that people should be so good that they should not need any laws to keep them from hurting each other's natural rights to rest, happiness, health, etc. All preachers, reformers, and sacred books like the Bible can be rightly called philosophical anarchists, for they tell people to be good, not because otherwise the law will punish them, but because they OUGHT to be good. The other kind of anarchist thinks that it is impossible to persuade the world to be better, that the law is as bad as anything else, and that the only remedy is to blow up everything bad, including the law. Now what on earth has this to do with the idea of the People's National Industry Co.? The mystery of how "dividing up" or "violence" ever came to be connected with the word "Socialism," is enough to make the angels weep. How can you have a People's Business Company if there is violence all around? And does the city, or the judge, or the Supreme Court, or the government, "divide up" your property when they make you give up what you have stolen, or take your land for a bridge, or sell your business at auction, or make you pay taxes?

"Socialism means 'free-love'"—Great Heavens! parts of our large cities are reeking with moral filth, every now and then the newspapers are full of the most disgraceful news, there are half a million "white slaves" (mostly through low wages), the doctors are busy with terrible diseases, the medical books contain information which would make your hair stand on end—all this is clean, moral, angelic, "not-free" love; but under Socialism, when among healthy and happy millions not one of these things will be possible—then, only then, will there be immorality. I deliberately say, that it is only hideous children of the Devil who can bring so crazy a not-argument concerning Socialism.

"Under Socialism there will be no 'incentive'"—Great Lord! Incentive for what? Incentive to "make money" by any means, no matter how injurious, mean, vile, or deadly? We plead guilty! Under Socialism there will be no incentive to "make money." And there will also be no incentive to cheat, kill, or injure for the sake of money; there will be no incentive for Congress or Parliament or Reichstag to declare war with another country, in order to get rid of and silence thousands of workmen out of a job who are beginning to grumble loudly; there will be no incentive to conquer weaker nations in order to make them buy the manufactured articles which are overflowing the market and which, if unsold, will compel the factories to close, thus putting out of work hundreds of thousands of workers who, starving and homeless, will start a bloody revolution; there will be no incentive to kill in accidents half a million care-

less-because-dropping-from-exhaustion - from - 16-hours-work-per-day railroad workers, because it is "expensive" to have them work only 8 hours a day; there will be no incentive to kill hundreds of thousands of factory and mine workers because safety devices are "expensive"; there will be no incentive to do millions of bloody things which are done now.

What incentive have I to write this pamphlet? The incentive of not being able to get it printed because the "big" men who own the publishers order them to hide the truth? The incentive of not having enough money to print the pamphlet at my own expense?

What incentive has the workman to work? The incentive of \$2.00 a day, little and dirty food, little and dirty rooms, and dirty, hungry, and naked children who will lead the same kind of life?

Under Socialism everyone will get a chance to use every ounce of his ability, and his incentive will be high wages, short hours, low prices, enough time and unused wages to enjoy all kinds of mental pleasures, and the fact that the more useful he will be to the people (of whom he is a part), the more will he be rewarded.

"*Socialism will 'break up the family'*"—Sure! Since this world began, millions of families have NOT been broken up by wars, religious persecution, disease, poverty, death, depravity, cheating, and force. The first breaking up of a family in the history of the world will happen under Socialism!!

"*Socialism is irreligious and atheistic*"—By religious do you mean going to church? You your-

self probably do not spend more than one hour a week in church, and as there are 168 hours in a week, you are not religious 167 hours out of 168. By religious do you mean doing good things? Is it the Socialists who have done the billions of bad things in this world since it began, and not the heathen, Jews, Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists, etc.? You will find very few Socialists in jail, but you will find hosts of non-Socialists. And is arguing for high wages, short hours, and low prices a bad thing? By religious do you mean believing in God? Are there no Democrats, Republicans, Liberals, Conservatives, who do not believe in God? And is God a workman or a receiver of rent-interest-profit? Then what has his existence or non-existence to do with the People's National Business Company?

"*Socialism will stop progress*"—It is very hard nowadays to get an education that will enable you, if you have the right kind of brains, to make new ideas. Under Socialism, when people will have half the day for thinking, and will not have to worry about starving or freezing or being killed or hurt or cheated, and will have every possible corner of their brains exercised, so that there will be millions more ideas than there are now, will progress be less rapid than now, when you are lucky to get a chance to speak out or work out your ideas? O Lord! How many more such "arguments"?

"*Socialism is violence; look at that red flag*"—O, colors have a meaning for you, have they? So the black in the German flag shows that the Germans are all bad pirates? And the blue in the

American flag shows how you feel over low wages and high prices? And the *stars* in the flag—are they what you see when you are swatted with the Big Stick of profit-rent-interests? And does the *white* in the flag stand for the feather that you show when the rights of free speech are taken away from you? And does the *red* in the flag show that you are bloody?

"Socialism is not patriotic"—What do you mean by patriotic? Do you mean loving your country? *Your country?* What part of it is yours? Do you own the mines, or the forests, or the herds, or the railroads, or the businesses? Morgan loves *his* part of the country, that is, the banks. Rockefeller loves *his* part of the country, that is, the oil fields. But what part of the country is yours? Is the government yours? Do you "give the sack" to bad officials, just like the boss gives it to you even though you do not deserve it? You have to wait from one to four years or for life to get rid of a bad official, and then you get a chance to elect his brother or his friend or his business partner; and even if one of them happens to be a "good" man he can't help being followed by thousands of grafters, political "plum" seekers, hangers-on, who HELPED TO ELECT HIM, and who are in BOTH BIG POLITICAL PARTIES, and whom he MUST reward if he wants to keep out of trouble. You love your country, do you? What you love are the seven little bits of printer's ink c-o-u-n-t-r-y. You smart Alec! Under Socialism the country will belong to you and ALL the people instead of some, so you will love *your*

country, so you will be *really* patriotic. If it is patriotic to love Morgan's country, why is it unpatriotic to love Emperor William's country? He is just as much a stranger to you as Morgan. You who have been working all your life are far more patriotic than those who go around waving flags and hollering "Three Cheers!" Beware of them! They are "patriotic" for BUSINESS REASONS. THERE'S MONEY IN IT FOR THEM.

"Socialists oppose reforms"—Socialists say that it is better to have safety devices to prevent accidents, than to build hospitals for the injured; that it is better to not give people a chance to steal, than to build prisons to keep them in after having stolen; that it is better to not have a boss and wage-squeezing-down system, than to pass minimum-wage laws which the bosses ("you can't change human nature") cannot be stopped from trying to wriggle around with the help of lawyers; in short, that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." How much do you reform a thief by inducing him to steal only ninety cents for every dollar that he used to steal? Is it better to build more and more hospitals, or is it better to not have anyone work at or live in dangerous or unhealthful conditions? Is it better to give more and more charity, or is better to give every man a job with high wages, low prices, and short hours?

"Socialists are quarrelsome"—Yes, they do quarrel. They also eat, sleep, sneeze, cough, laugh, and cry. Are Socialists forbidden to be human beings?

"Socialists' tongues run loose"—That's right,

and so have those of billions of men and women both dead and living.

"Socialists say violent things"—and so do thousands of szars, sultans, emperors, kings, princes, generals, slave-drivers, popes, bishops, Wat Tylers, and Patrick Henrys. Read your Bible and you will see that God has said many violent things. When Christ was angry with the receivers of profit-rent-interest for grinding down the people (read your Bible carefully) it was proper for Him to say violent things; but when Socialists are angry on account of the millions of miserable human beings, it is not proper for them to talk angrily.

"Socialists call names"—O yes, it is only they that call names; all the bad and dirty words in the dictionary were invented by Socialists.

"I heard one of them Socialists; he put up a mighty poor argument"—Don't go to church any more, unless your pastor is the wisest on earth. Don't work for your boss any more, unless he is the wisest on earth. If I do not know astronomy, that means that there are no stars or sun or moon or earth. If I work such long hours, from such an early age, that I have never had the chance to learn and think enough to explain Socialism, that means that its truths do not exist. If Franklin did not know as much about electricity as Edison, that means that electricity does not exist and Franklin was no good.

"Most of them Socialists don't belong to their own party"—Terrible! some of them can't afford the money, some of them haven't the time, some of them are too lazy. All the grown-ups in this

country belong to a political party, so that there are say twenty million members of both the Democrat and Republican parties. Sure. I always thought that only one out of a hundred voters belonged to a party. The Socialist Party is only one of the means, such as lectures, newspapers, books, and debates, of bringing about Socialism, but the Socialist Party IS NOT THE THEORY OF SOCIALISM. Theories exist only in the human brain.

"Socialists are not law-abiding"—The thousands of newspapers printed in this country are full every day of murders, swindles, thefts, attacks, by Democrats and Republicans, poor men and rich men, church members and non-members, college graduates and people who cannot read, Catholics, Protestants, Presbyterians, Methodists, and atheists, Germans, Irish, Jews, Italians, Hungarians, and negroes—the country is full of prisons, jails, penitentiaries, asylums, reformatories, policemen, judges, lawyers, courts, soldiers—all this shows that our country is law-abiding—it is only under Socialism that law-breaking will begin. But cheer up! The Socialists will not find it easy to teach crime to all these innocent angels of whom we have just spoken, and the Socialists will have a hard job teaching law-breaking to our millionaires' "big" lawyers. I wonder why Washington and Adams and Jefferson and Franklin did not abide by the British laws, and why Lincoln did not abide by the slave laws, and why Christ did not abide by the laws of Jerusalem.

"One of the Socialists' books says that 'All wealth is the product of labor,' which isn't so"—

Well, I don't agree with that book; if it said that "most wealth is the product of labor," then I might agree. But what a book says, has nothing to do with the fact that millions of people will not be healthy and happy until Profit, Rent, and Interest are driven out of business by the People's National Business Co.

"Socialism in Milwaukee has raised the tax rate"—Whether the tax rate went higher or lower, whether the people got twice as much service for their taxes as they had before, whether graft was stopped—all these things have nothing to do with the theory of Socialism. A Socialist city government, surrounded by thousands of anti-Socialist city, state, and government laws, cannot start up a branch of the People's National Business Co., and therefore cannot put Socialism into effect; so whatever happens, no matter whether bad or good, in such a city, has nothing to do with Socialism. Socialists in such a city can merely try to play the game honestly according to the mixed-up and therefore dishonest rules made by Republicans and Democrats; but what they *want* is to make entirely new rules.

"They raised the fares on the government railroad out in ———"—Municipal ownership or government ownership have **NOTHING TO DO WITH SOCIALISM**, which means **PEOPLE'S** ownership and management. Present government is not the people; it is merely a crowd of officials, politicians, schemers, and money-men, each with a kite's-tail of job-hunters; and their work is done by clerks, of whom one-quarter have to do the work of

the other three-quarters—so present government ownership has **NOTHING TO DO** with the People-Government ownership.

"Socialism has failed in such and such a place"—Socialism has not failed anywhere, because it has never been established in any country. Remember that Socialism is intended on a **NATIONAL** scale only. A Socialist official is not the theory of Socialism (you never dream of saying that some convicted Democrat or Republican stands for his party), so that any mistake that a Socialist official can make has nothing to do with the justice of the Socialist theory. And, as the people are always changing from Republican to Democrat administrations, and back again, doesn't that mean that Republicanism and Democraticism are always failing?

"The initiative, referendum and recall will not work"—These three things have nothing to do with the theory of Socialism. They are simply ways of electing, "giving the sack" to, and keeping an eye on, the managers of the industries under Socialism. These three things have been taken up by the Republican and Democratic parties in various states, especially in the West. Does that make Socialists out of them? And we cannot tell whether these things will work or not until they are tried out on a large scale. As far as I know they work as well as the "repeater"-stuffed ballot-politician-gang-vile newspaper-campaign fund system of elections. Under Socialism, when no one will have to go to work young, and everyone who has enough brains will have a long and thorough education, people will be able to exercise the "initiative" (the

right to suggest things), the referendum (the right to have their opinion asked), and the recall (the right to "give the sack" to no-good managers), and there will be no Sam Slicks to draw up such long and mixed-up referendums that no one can make head or tail of them. And, as there will be say a four-hour workday, there will be plenty of time for voting in these three ways, especially as people will not lose time looking for a job, in lawsuits, and so on.

"Profits, rent, and interest are not as great as you say; statistics show I'm right"—Just wait a minute and I'll statistic you till you're sick. Suppose I am a real-estate operator, and own \$1,000,000 worth of property, and every year make 25 per cent. profit out of my business, or \$250,000. I go to a lawyer and have him turn my business into a corporation, which I capitalize at \$5,000,000; that is, I claim that it is worth \$5,000,000 instead of \$1,000,000. Who will prove that I am lying? You can either believe me or not believe me. Then I print 5000 pieces of paper called "shares," claiming that each stands for 1/5000 of my property and is thus worth \$1000. Then I advertise, claiming that my business is very prosperous and that if you buy a share in it you will have a share of the prosperity or profits. If I can sell half of the shares I will collect \$2,500,000 (I keep half of the shares in order to have the biggest vote and be able to boss the business as much as if I owned it all). I did not get the \$2,500,000 by thrift or industry; I simply persuaded the people to hand it over to me; if you call this "superior brains" then

I say that burglars, swindlers, "greengoods" men, and card-sharps have "superior" brains also. Now if the business goes on making the same \$250,000 profit that it made before, \$250,000 profit out of a business valued at \$5,000,000 makes only 5 per cent. profit

$$\frac{250,000}{5,000,000} = \frac{1}{20} = 5\% \quad \text{while} \quad \frac{250,000}{1,000,000} = \frac{1}{4} = 25\%$$

So you see that the more you claim that your business is worth, the less per cent. profit can you make your books show. The same with rent and interest. You would statistic me, would you? Rub out the false inflated values from your statistics, put in the real values, and you will see such enormous profits-rent-interest that you will jump out of your skin.

"The people are not fitted to rule themselves"—If the people are ruling themselves now, and are not fitted, then why don't you start an agitation to have a king and nobles in this country? If the people are *not* ruling themselves now (which I claim is the case), then don't blame the mix-up on the people. Under Socialism, when nobody goes to work when a child and everyone who has enough brains gets a long and thorough education, the people will be much more fit to rule themselves than they ever were in the whole history of the world.

"Nobody will want to work under Socialism"—What do you mean? You, who want to work now 12 hours a day for \$2.50, will not want to work 4 hours a day for \$5.00? Do you mean no one will

have to work as much as now? Do you kick because you don't have to work on Sunday? Say, am I crazy, or are you? Do you think that I am going to work for you? No, sir. If you will not want to work you can go and starve; I'm not going to feed you. Nowadays, when you don't want to work, you go into some bunco or strong-arm game, and live much better than I do. You will not be able to do that under Socialism; and you will have no excuse, for four hours work a day will bring you all that you need to live comfortably.

"I know a man—as soon as he made some money he stopped being a Socialist"—What a man says, does, or thinks has nothing to do with the theory of the People's National Business Co., or Socialism. I know a man—as soon as he got a Democratic job he stopped being a Republican, therefore the Democratic and Republican parties are no good. I know of another man in Boston, a Jew who claimed to be a Socialist—he turned Catholic and now has a job talking and writing against Socialism. That is another proof that Socialism is "no good." There are a number of millionaires in the Socialist ranks.

"Under Socialism there will be the same old Civil Service graft, and political parties, and patronage"—Nothing of the sort. Everybody will begin as an apprentice at some kind of work or thinking, and will get automatic, self-acting promotions and increases of salary, which can be delayed only by vote of his fellow-workers if they are dissatisfied with the manager's approval of some one's promotion. There will be no such thing as

politics, because no one will be able to make one cent by being a politician—so there will be no parties and no patronage. The People's National Business Co. will make bread out of flour and by machinery and bakers, and not out of politics and by politicians.

"How are you going to get the idle to work"—How do you get the idle to work now? You don't. You let them tramp around the country and sleep in the parks and fill the asylums and jails. Every time a labor-saving machine is invented you make more idle men. Other idle men you allow to roll around in automobiles. Under Socialism everyone will be offered a job at high wages and short hours; anyone who does not want to work under such conditions will starve off in a day or two, and the automobile gentlemen will not be able to get more gasoline.

"Socialism isn't practical"—The Meat Trust and the Steel Trust are not practical; they don't make any money at all; so the People's National Business Co., which is merely a bigger trust in which everyone is a shareholder in proportion to his working or thinking ability, is not practical either. It isn't practical for you to have a share in the profits of all business, instead of giving it all to rich men. That half-Socialist business, the Post Office, is not practical; it would be better for you to pay four cents for every two-cent stamp, so that the owner of the Post Office might make two cents profit out of every two-cent stamp. Morgan isn't practical, so if the People bought up his business and ran it just like he does, but kept the profits

for themselves instead of giving it to him, they would not be practical. It isn't practical to work out a scheme whereby you don't have to pay rent or profit.

"*Socialism is idealistic*"—so are the people who give money to hospitals, to charity, and to humane societies; the people who want to stop war; the people who want to make bosses buy safety devices for their workmen. Arrest them all! Away with them to a dungeon dark and deep!

"*Socialism is all right, but we aren't ready for it yet*"—How will you know when we are ready? Will God make a wonderful sign in the heavens? Did Columbus wait to discover America, and did Watt wait to invent the steam-engine, until "we were ready" for it, or did they get a hustle on just as soon as they got the money or the time or the "backing" to go ahead? Yes, high wages are all right, but we aren't ready for them yet. Yes, short hours are all right, but we aren't ready for them yet. Yes, it's all right not to pay rent, but I am not ready just yet to stop giving it to my landlord.

"*Necessity is the mother of invention, so under Socialism, when there will be no necessity, there will be no inventions.*" "*Blessed is the whip of necessity*"—Morgan tries to make more money on account of necessity; he hasn't enough to keep himself from starving. On Sunday you play baseball on account of necessity, not for pleasure. People fight on account of necessity, not because of hate. People read books and newspapers on account of necessity, not through curiosity and de-

sire for knowledge. Where did you ever learn that necessity is the ONLY reason for doing things? Don't you know that your body is full of nerves and muscles, and that you will go crazy if you do not do something? Don't you know that prisoners are often driven insane by NOT BEING ALLOWED to do anything? Why do rich men continue in business? One reason is that they are afraid someone else's "superior brains" will take their money away. The other reason is that they have nothing but business in their brains, and they do not know what else to do, and they become nervous and fear insanity if they stop working. Yet you tell me that it is necessity that makes them work. On the contrary, necessity often makes a man so sick and weak that he CAN'T work, and necessity often prevents inventors from having enough time or education or money to perfect and work out their ideas.

"*You can't change human nature*"—All right, so you can't stop people from killing, injuring, and cheating each other for the sake of money; so the only thing to do is TO NOT GIVE THEM A CHANCE TO "MAKE MONEY," and the only way to that is to start up the People's National Business Co., where everyone will receive wages or salary instead of "making money." DON'T LEAVE MONEY LYING IN THE STREET, AND THEN WALK AWAY AND PREACH TO PEOPLE NOT TO STEAL IT; PUT THE MONEY IN A STRONG-BOX, AND THEN YOU WILL NOT HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT ANYONE'S WANTING TO STEAL IT. Put

all business into the hands of the People's National Business Co., and then you will not have to "change human nature." Why do you always talk of human nature as if it is all bad? Isn't jumping in to save a drowning person "human nature" also?

"Profit is the reward of industry or ability (superior brains)"—Is that so? If your grocer puts sand in his sugar without being found out, if he gives short weight, he can make more profit, so profit can be the reward of cheating also. A young man who has inherited his father's business, leaves it in the hands of managers, and spends his time in theatres and cafés, is getting profit on account of his industry, eh? Why don't industrious workmen get profits instead of wages, eh? A profitable saloon or gambling house or vice-den has an owner who is industrious and has superior brains, eh? Under Socialism highly able men will get very high wages, so they will not need profits.

"You can't make men equal"—The Declaration of Independence says that "all men are born equal"; do you deny what the fathers of this country said? But I am only teasing you. I admit that men are not born with equal brain and body possibilities; but in fair play they should all have equal opportunities, EQUAL CHANCES. Let every one start in the race of life from the same line; it is not fair that most of the starters should carry the heavy handicap of paying rent-interest-profit, eating poor food, living in poor rooms, and having a poor and short education. Is this your idea of fairness?

"I know lots of men who like to work long hours; I know lots of workmen who are satisfied"—

Under Socialism any man who wants to pay rent-interest-profit and work long hours and eat little and dirty food, WILL HAVE FULL PERMISSION TO DO ALL THESE THINGS.

"Socialism is materialistic; it is a belly-philosophy"—Why shouldn't it be? Are there not hundreds of thousands of priests and pastors, in thousands of monasteries, churches, and cathedrals, to take care of the spiritual part of you? Why should they stay idle and let the Socialists do their work for them? The Church, the Law, and Medicine take care of every part of you except the stomach; Socialism wants to take care of that. Nobody eats except Socialists, so they are the only people who think of their bellies. Funny that I never saw an anti-Socialist speaker *who was not well-fed.*

"Well, the German Socialists seem to be all right, but they're different from the ones here"—Sure they're different. They read the same Socialist books, they are a branch of the same International Socialist Party that the American Socialists are a branch of, they want to establish the same National People's Business Co. in Germany, but they drink a different kind of beer and they talk a different language, so they must be different people. You like the German Socialists so much; what do you do to help them? Emperor William recently expressed his liking for the British Socialists, and his sorrow for the "revolutionary" character of the German Socialists. Yet you say you like the latter.

"It's only in hard times that people talk Socialism"—Wonderful! It's only when people are sick that they think of the doctor. Wonderful!

"Idleness leads to mischief"—This means, I suppose, that when the employees of the People's National Business Co. come home from work every day at say 2 o'clock, they will start in right away to commit all kinds of crimes. Terrible! We all know that all the crimes in the world are committed on Sunday when people are not working! Everybody is arrested on his vacation! Under Socialism, when everyone receives a much better education than at present, everyone will have so much music to play and so many books to read and so many things to see that no one will have time to commit crimes, especially when there will be few or no saloons, no "resorts," no riches to steal, no property to swindle away.

"How are you going to regulate wages?"—There's a certain kind of work or thinking to be done. If not enough men apply, higher wages will have to be offered in order to secure enough men. If many men apply, the wages will have to be reduced, because evidently the job is too attractive as compared to other jobs. The harder the work or thinking, the fewer the men who will be able to do it, and so the higher the wages that will be offered to them. So ability will be rewarded, and wages and hours will be regulated automatically by supply and demand.

"Who will be willing to do the dirty work under Socialism?"—If others are not willing then I, the writer of this pamphlet, will be willing. I am no hypocrite; what I am after are high wages and short hours—high wages so that I can live comfortably and have a healthy body and a mind not

strained and twisted through the wolfish struggle for a living, and short hours so that I can have enough time to read and write books and play and write music. To have this situation I am willing to sweep the streets, 3 hours a day for \$50 a week, especially as I know that I will have a glass helmet and oxygen tank and rubber suit and gloves, and the streets will be cleaner than now. But there will not be any "dirty" or dangerous work; there will be millions of machines and safety devices used, which are not used now because they would lower the bosses's profits.

"Well, I guess Socialism is all right, but I don't want to waste my vote"—Yes, I know that the old parties are rotten, and that Socialism will make it easier to live, but I don't want to waste my vote, so I'll keep right on voting for those damned old parties. Reader! I assure you that I have heard this more than once with my own ears. Suppose everyone talks like this; how can the People's National Business Co. possibly be formed. Such arguments make one's blood boil with indignation.

"Well, I vote for the good men on the ticket"—How do you know he is a good man? Are you his brother? You know through the newspapers. How do you know the newspapers do not lie? Are the editors appointed from among God and his angels? Don't you know that newspaper owners have business agreements with political candidates or their bosses? And one good man, or a million good men, have nothing to do with the idea of the People's National Business Co.

The practice of Socialism has nothing to do

with strikes, or labor unions, or labor leaders, or any kind of violence. Socialism does not bother with little private property, but with large business property.

AWAKE

Now, reader, do you blame the Socialists for being excited when such "arguments" are thrown at them?

Don't be prejudiced; remember that if workmen ought not to "strike" because by so doing they "inconvenience" the public, then the factory owners ought not to strike by closing their shops, because by so doing they not only "inconvenience" their workmen (and their families) but also starve and freeze them; remember that if judges must not be subject to the recall because they cannot decide honestly when they are in fear of losing their jobs, then workmen and clerks and all salaried men should not be subject to the recall ("sack" or dismissal) either, because they are afraid to think and speak and write honestly when they are in fear of losing their jobs; remember that since millions of people are too uneducated and inexperienced and tired to think, they should not be blamed for being fooled by slick men; remember that it is not fair to blame a homeless, starved, bedraggled little dog for being unable to put up a fight against a big dog; remember that millions of people must starve or freeze if they do not pay rent-interest-profit, so that "Money or your life!" is just the same thing as "Profit-rent-interest or your life!"; remember that it would take a million volumes to tell just how this

big world should be run, so it is not fair to demand from Socialists a full explanation of every little detail; remember that for years you have been swallowing thousands of Republican-Democrat promises, without making the struggle for existence less fierce, but you refuse to swallow a single Socialist promise; remember that there are hundreds of books explaining Socialism, but there is not a single book explaining Republicanism or Democraticism, because these two names are merely ghosts, so that you have been voting for empty air; remember that you have no right to kick against unjust judges, because you are one yourself—you do not read a single Socialist paper so as to get their side of the case; remember that if you judge the Socialist Party by some Socialist whom you dislike, then you should judge the Republican and Democratic Parties by some of the hoodlums that belong to them; remember that the Bible says both things which are opposed to Socialism and just as many or more things which are good Socialist theory; remember that if a workman puts into the savings bank \$1 out of his wages of \$10, that does not mean that he is prosperous, but simply that he is living more like a dog than he would if he spent that \$1 for food or other things; remember that you do not go to a professor and ask him to explain algebra to you, but you go and study it for a year—but you refuse to study Socialism from any of its books, and expect some tired Socialist to explain it to you in five minutes; remember that the workman who was blown up in a dynamite explosion did not "fling dynamite around recklessly,

and serves him right" (as I heard a well-dressed lady say), but he couldn't find a job at anything else and HAD to do the dangerous work, which wouldn't be dangerous if the boss "couldn't 'afford' to get safety devices"; remember that you forgive all kinds of people all kinds of sins, but you want all Socialists to be above reproach; remember that in our system of society there are not enough jobs for all, so that every time you help some one to a job, some one somewhere else must lose a job; remember that in this system of society there is not enough *available* for all, so that the more one gets the less some one else gets; remember that in our system of society fruit is left to rot on the ground, corn is burned, and food is dumped into the sea, in order to make the supply smaller so that prices can be made higher; remember that to have a \$10 a week job is not the end of life, that we are not born just to work and sleep, that finding a person work does not make him happy if the work has low wages and long hours.

Don't think that there are other ways of ending this world's misery. Single Tax (to abolish Rent) is only a partial remedy, and SINGLE TAX IS A PART OF THE SOCIALIST THEORY; Land (and other things) Currency (to abolish Interest) is only a partial remedy, and it is a fellow-traveller of the Socialist theory for a short distance, in that it wants to make Interest impossible; all kinds of religions have existed since the world began, and they have utterly failed to stop the terrible strain under which we live; millions of laws have been passed, and all kinds of governments have been

tried, in vain; even in Babylon and ancient Egypt they tried to regulate the trusts, and fix the laws, and make the people go to church; in short, the world has tried every imaginable remedy except the People's National Business Company, or Socialism, and yet you refuse to read one Socialist paper to find out at what the Socialists are angry, and you refuse to read one book on Socialism to find out what it means. No wonder! You stone your prophets, you crucify Christ, and you swallow every vile, malicious, and outrageous "argument" against the theory of Socialism.

If you are a workingman, don't think that the labor unions are going to bring the Happy Age. There is not a single vile thing done by a certain class of profit-rent-interest receivers which has not been matched by a certain class of labor union officials. Don't think that striking for higher wages will help. If your boss is compelled to pay you higher wages, he will certainly ("you can't change human nature") raise the price of the shoes that you make, so that while the Shoemakers' Union members will get \$1000 a week more wages, the whole State will have to pay say \$2000 a week more for shoes; every time a union secures higher wages for its workmen, the cost of living of everybody, including those workmen, is increased.

And don't think that "humane owners" will bring the Happy Age. The inhumane boss will drive his men and get more work and therefore more profits out of them than the humane boss; you and the rest of the people will always buy the lower-priced of two equally good articles; there-

fore the inhumane boss, being able to quote lower prices than the humane boss, is BOUND to drive him out of business.

Don't think that Mr. A's or Mr. B's money is necessary in order to have business go on; isn't the People-Government's money good enough to run the People's National Business Co. with? And isn't it the government which prints and makes A's and B's money for them? Can't it do so for itself?

Don't say that Morgan made his money by "superior brains," and then the Socialists will not have to reply that if you look in the reports of such and such a court you will find that Morgan was found to have done such and such an illegal thing.

Did you ever think that it is a basic animal instinct to fear the strong and to kick the underdog, and that that may be the reason why you keep silent about Rent-Profit-Interest and take a whack at Socialism?

Why don't you give Socialism a chance to show what it can do, by electing a Socialist Congress? If you will not be satisfied with what it does, can't you at the next election vote Republicanism or Democraticism back into power again? Do you think that one year of the People's National Business Co. will be more dreadful than the Forty Years' War and the American Revolution and the Black Plague?

The Jews were once terribly persecuted by the Christians; the early Christians were terribly persecuted by the "heathen"; Protestants were terribly persecuted by the Catholics; these persecu-

tions stopped because enough good men lifted up their voices in protest. If the persecutions had not been stopped, our ancestors would have been killed, and we would not be living. There is not one of us who does not owe a debt of gratitude to the good men who have lived before us; yet what do you do to repay them? You busy yourselves, some of you, with vocational schools, and societies for the prevention of cruelty to children and animals (but not to workmen), and hospital funds, and settlement workers, and suchlike pale efforts—some of you give hundreds and thousands of dollars for these things—but you will give NOT ONE PENNY toward the formation of the People's National Business Co., or Socialism.

Bodily starvation is not the only thing for which present society is responsible; mental starvation causes just as much suffering. How many thinking brains there are who must go to work at an early age; how many people there are, who have too long working-hours, or are too tired, to read, study, and think. Life is becoming more strenuous, therefore more rest is needed; all human activity is now dependent upon business, "the heart of the nation"; Socialism, the People's National Business Co., which is a strictly business proposition, by curing business ills will cure the ills of whatever depends upon business, or practically everything.

Reader! the whole world has for centuries lived under such a terrible strain that everybody is tired; tired people cannot think clearly and are angry when disturbed; that is why you feel hostile to Socialism.

Reader! you ought to know, from people's talk and from magazines and newspapers, that there is a seething and a boiling all over the world; the volcano of centuries of wrath is trembling, and the earthquake may soon overwhelm us. I see the gaunt spectre of Anarchy approaching, and there is but one way to avoid it: Begin to read the Socialist prints, and vote the Socialist ticket so as to start the People's National Business Co. If you do not do this, the consequences will rest upon your head!

*Reader! May you remember the Groans
of the People. I am tired. I am done.*

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